

The Silver at Brasenose College, Oxford:

Patterns of Purchase and Patronage in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries



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The Silver at Brasenose College, Oxford: Patterns of Purchase and Patronage in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

It is rare in the world of decorative arts to be able to connect surviving objects with documents of sale and purchase, not only from the consumer, but also from the supplier, combined with details concerning care and use. Institutions, nevertheless, are a valuable source of such information because the formalized and detailed day-to-day administration they require means that archives relating to artifacts are more likely to survive. Some of the oldest and wealthiest institutions are part of the two most ancient universities, Oxford and Cambridge. A number of the colleges not only possess final yearly accounts, in some cases dating back to the fourteenth century, but also retain the material from which they were made up—tradesmen's bills. Their detail and range in time allow one to analyze income and expenditure. Together with inventories and lists of benefactions, the accounts and bills make it possible to reconstruct what a college bought, from whom and when, and how the pattern of these purchases changed over time.

The survival of both objects and the written record of their existence depends on how they have weathered the vicissitudes of social, political, and economic change. Silver, because it is both infinitely reusable and intrinsically valuable, is particularly vulnerable to change, by melting down, refashioning, and exchange. At Balliol College in Oxford, for example, parcels of silver were "changed for the payment of College Debts" in 1668. Many colleges pawned their silver to the University chest for loans. But the status and inherent value of wrought silver also means that it is documented with regularity and precision. Due to the more than usual care of its authorities, Brasenose College in Oxford retains not only an extensive and detailed written record of its possessions, but also some of those historic possessions themselves. Whereas most of the other colleges regularly cleaned house, dispatching tradesmen's bills to the flames after the annual audit, a long series of bursars at Brasenose, dating back to the sixteenth century, judiciously kept such documents. Only Brasenose and New College at Oxford are notable in retaining a quantity of pre-nineteenth-century bills in their archives. The records at Brasenose,

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which are representative of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, provide an opportunity to investigate in detail patterns of consumption and use.

The Material Evidence: Brasenose College Silver

Despite a fire in 1618 that melted some of the College silver,¹ the theft of several "parcels of plate" by the "braking up of [the] Treasure house" in 1618,² and the "loan" of most of the College silver to Charles I in 1642, Brasenose College still owns an impressive amount of silver. The sponsor and assay marks suggest that from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the elected head of the College, the principal, and the governing fellows bought from a wide range of goldsmiths, mostly based in London. A bewildering variety of goldsmiths' marks appear on the College silver. Surviving tankards and beakers from the eighteenth century alone can be attributed, by their marks, to at least twenty-five London goldsmiths, including John Sutton (examples dating from 1703-1704); Joseph Ward (1717-1718); Hugh Arnett and Edward Pocock (from the 1720s to the 1730s); Richard Bailey, Richard Green, Timothy Ley, Joseph Smith, John Stone, John Swift, and Joseph Sanders (1730s and 1740s); Phillips Garden and Fuller White (1750s); Thomas Whigham (1760s); Peter, Ann, and William Bateman (1770s and 1780s); and George Smith (1780s).

One of the central questions concerning the silver is how it was commissioned, and how it got to Oxford, because, as the marks show, it was supplied by London goldsmiths.

The Written Record: Brasenose College Accounts and Inventories

All the Oxford and Cambridge colleges adopted a similar method of monitoring their accounts. At Brasenose College, which was founded in 1509 jointly by William Smyth (1460-1514), bishop of Lincoln, and the lawyer Sir Richard Sutton (d. 1524), the administration was the responsibility of the principal and six senior fellows. By the end of the sixteenth century there were twenty-six scholars. The first extant buttery book, dated 1612, gives some idea of the size of the College. Each week between 177 and 200 people were batteling, that is, in debt to the College for food, drink, and lodging. It was the responsibility of the senior bursar to draw up an annual account of income and expenditures. The first extant senior bursar's Rolls of Account dates from 1516.³ It was not until 1631/1632 that the "long book" in paper superseded the vellum Rolls, and the format for each class of invoice and receipt became standardized.⁴ Income includes rents from College estates and livings and payments for admis-

sions, room rents, minor benefactions, and fines. Expenditures cover the costs of religious holidays and include "Commons" for the food provided at the common table, "Extra Collegium" for poor relief and quit rents, and "Intra Collegium" for fuel and servants' wages. Daily maintenance, routine purchases, and repairs of the College are recorded under "Solutiones." In this latter category, for example, is the twice-yearly payment of 5s. for cleaning the silver, at Christmas and on May 29, the College Gaudy, or celebration of the foundation.⁵ Payments to goldsmiths for the supply of silver and its repair are recorded not only under the expenses of the butler but also under "Necessaria ad Turrem," for the Tower or Treasury, and "ad Capellam et Bibliothica," for the Chapel and Library.⁶ The separate categories imply distinct types of silver, distinguished from each other by function and status.

The first goldsmith's bill to survive at Brasenose came from Walter Wilkins, a local Oxford goldsmith. He invoiced the College 9s. 6d. for soldering, polishing, and scouring eight pieces of silver in 1614.⁷ The bills, unlike the bursar's account entries, give precise details of the objects and services supplied, the date of invoicing, and the date and method of payment, and occasionally notes made by the goldsmiths on maintenance. So, for example, in 1749, John Gadney, an Oxford cutler, who also supplied silver, filed down eight old blades taken out of existing silver hafts and turned them into oyster knives by fitting them into new wooden hafts.⁸ The recycling of goods was common, and can be seen not only in goldsmiths' bills but also in those relating to pewter and linen.

Another source of information about college plate exists in the form of inventories. The so-called Old Plate Book, recording the annual audit of silver, begins in 1519 with an "Inventarium Jocalium et aliorum ornamentorum capelle et aule."⁹ During the interregnum of the Commonwealth (1649–1660, after Charles I had been executed), the entries cease. Apart from a note made in 1680, the book was not brought into use again until 1749, perhaps reflecting a renewal of interest in the College silver.¹⁰ Of the plate in the first surviving inventory of 1519, nothing now remains in the possession of the College except two chalices of 1498–1499 associated with one of the founders, Bishop Smyth.¹¹ During the Civil War the College was required to "lend" Charles I its plate.¹² A receipt survives recording 1,454 ounces of silver, of which 154 ounces were in silver-gilt.¹³ The silver, or "white" plate, at 5s. per ounce accounted for £325 2s. 6d., while the gilt plate, at 5s. 6d. per ounce, came to £42 8s. 4d.¹⁴ Unlike New College, which had a separate store of silver to employ in such emergencies, Brasenose had to give up the silver in use. But the College lost no time in restoring its stock of plate.¹⁵ The Brasenose Benefaction

Book begins in 1647 when Samuel Radcliffe, the principal, willed a "wrought Silver-gilt Cup wth a Cover."¹⁶ This steeple cup, still at the College, is hallmarked 1610 and was given to Radcliffe by Lord Chancellor Egerton while he was a proctor of the University. Using the tradesmen's bills, it is possible to track the use and abuse of this cup, the most important piece of silver in the possession of the College.¹⁷ For example, in 1743 the local goldsmith John Wilkins was paid £2 16s. for "mending and gilding Dr Radcliffe's Bowl and Cover."¹⁸ In October 1774, the Oxford goldsmith Edward Lock soldered "on ye top, Boild & Polishd a Cover of the Principals Cup" for 3s. 6d.¹⁹

The written evidence reveals that the College depended heavily on local Oxford goldsmiths. How then can this be reconciled with the presence of largely London-made silver in the College?

A Case Study: The Lloyd, Sneyd, Gorges Tureen

The oldest tureen to survive at Brasenose can be dated by its hallmark to 1750, and it also bears the mark of Paul de Lamerie (Fig. 1). It must have been supplied during the last year of de Lamerie's life, as he died on August 1, 1751, having made a will the year before, with the provision that all silver in hand was to be finished and the stock to be auctioned by Langford of Covent Garden. The Brasenose tureen weighs 134 ounces, although "135:19" is scratched on the bottom (Fig. 2). Wear and tear over the last 240 years account for the almost two ounces of silver lost. The tureen is hand-raised with a shaped oval body and applied gadroon borders. It stands on four boldly modeled and cast lion's mask-and-paw feet, with a lion's tail entwined around each leg. The foliate scrolled handles at either end project from applied lion's masks with protruding tongues. The domed cover has a central gadrooned band and at the top a cast and applied plaque chased with diaper and brickwork, scrolls, shells, leaves, and lion's and eagle's masks. The central scroll handle is decorated with leaves, shells, and grotesque masks.

The design was not new in 1750: de Lamerie had employed it at least as early as 1741 on two similar tureens, one with armorials in a cartouche, the other blank.²⁰ The pattern seems to have been a popular one, reappearing on surviving pairs of tureens dated 1743²¹ and 1748.²² The tureens in the pair of 1743, part of a dinner service commissioned by the seventh earl of Thanet between 1742 and 1746, weigh 126 ounces 4 penny weight and 127 ounces 9 penny weight respectively; the Brasenose tureen is noticeably heavier (Fig. 2). De Lamerie seems to have considered the design of the cast handles and the finial in the form of a foliated loop as fashionable. The handles appear on a tureen bearing the arms of Madden



FIGURE 1

Paul de Lamerie (1688-1751), soup tureen of raised and cast silver, London, 1750. Length 40cm. Scratch weight 135 oz. 19 dwt. Brasenose College, Oxford. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

impaling Creighton, marked by de Lamerie and assayed 1738/1739.²³ Around 1740 he updated a pair of soup tureens he had supplied to Richard Edgcumbe in 1722 by removing the original feet, handles, and finial and substituting the more modish foliated loop design.²⁴ The Edgcumbe handles are of the same pattern as those on the Brasenose tureen.

The same design of foliate handles and finial appears on "2 fine terreens" delivered to Lord North by George Wickes in 1736, that is, two years earlier than de Lamerie's tureen hallmarked in 1738/1739. The accounts of Wickes's firm record that North paid £157 3s for them, their combined weight amounting to 314 ounces 6 penny weight.²⁵ Wickes used the same design of finial and handles (and eagle-headed ladle) on a pair of tureens ordered by the Prince of Wales in 1744 and presented by him to his physician, Dr. Matthew Lee.²⁶ In fact, many of the colleges in Oxford possess versions of this design of tureen, including The Queen's College, New College, and Oriel College, all bearing the mark of either de Lamerie or the Panton Street firm.²⁷

The presence of the foliate handle and finial pattern on tureens supplied by both de Lamerie and Wickes provides a link between these two great mid-eighteenth-century London goldsmiths.²⁸ De Lamerie (1688-1751) had been established in Windmill Street near the Haymarket since 1713, moving to Gerrard Street sometime in 1738. George Wickes (1698-1761) set up on his own in Panton Street off the Haymarket in 1735, where the business stayed until 1909. The two goldsmiths would therefore always have been close neighbors in the fashionable and developing West End of London.

The Lloyd, Sneyd, Gorges Tureen: The Written Record

The body of de Lamerie's Brasenose tureen is engraved with the names "Gulielmus Lloyd" and "Johannes Sneyd" surmounted by their arms, and the date "1758" on one side and the College arms and those of Richard Gorges on the other. The College crest was also engraved on the lid, under the loop finial. As recorded in the Brasenose Benefaction Book, the tureen was purchased with funds from three undergraduates: Richard Gorges,²⁹ William Lloyd,³⁰ and John Sneyde.³¹ As gentlemen commoners, they were required to give money for silver to the College before they graduated. In 1758 each contributed £20, and the "three Sums were laid out" almost immediately "in a Terrein." If the tureen was made in 1750, but not engraved until 1758, when was it actually bought by the College?

Fortunately the bill for the tureen survives, revealing that it was ordered on December 18, 1758, from George Wickes, who had taken Samuel Netherton into partnership in 1750. It cost 8s. per ounce to make,

FIGURE 2
Detail of marks on tureen in Fig. 1, with weight engraved on base. Brasenose College, Oxford. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.



totaling £54 7s. 6d., which includes both the cost of the silver at 5s. 9d. per ounce and the fashioning charge. "Graving 5 Coats & Inscriptions" cost a further £1 18s. (Fig. 3). The bill also shows that the tureen was to be accompanied by a soup ladle that weighed 9 ounces 10 penny weight, costing £2 14s. 7d. for the silver and £1 4s. for the making, with 5s. 6d. extra for a "Coat & Inscription." The bill gives the total weight of the tureen and ladle as 145 ounces 9 penny weight. The ladle was made with the same eagle-headed casting pattern as that for the pair of ladles of 1743 made for the earl of Thanet (see Fig. 4), and for the ladle accompanying the tureen supplied to Sir Lister Holte, Baronet, and his second wife, Ann Harpur, made in 1741.³² The Holte ladle is marked by George Wickes, and the Thanet ladles by Paul de Lamerie. "An Account of Plate belonging to Brasen Nose College in the Principal's Lodgings," begun in 1809, lists the tureen still with its ladle.³³ The ladle's whereabouts are unknown today.

FIGURE 3

Bill from George Wickes and Samuel Netherton to Brasenose College, 1758-1759.
Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M.
Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company
Limited, London.

The Rev^d D^r Yarborough

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Bought of George Wickes & Samuel Netherton,
Goldsmiths & Jewellers. — oz. wt. L. S. D.

in Panton Street, near S^t. James's Hay-Market

1758 Decr 12 To a pt. Salts & Spoons 7-19-25/9 2-5-9

To making 0-14-0

To Graving 2 Coats & 0-5-0

18 To a Silver t^rewine & cover 135-19 8/ 54-7-6

To Graving 5 Coats & Inscriptions 1-18-

To a Soup Ladle 9-10 5/ 2-14-7

To making 1-4-0

To Graving a Coat & Inscription 0-5-6

To 4 hand Waiters 45-5 8/ 18-13-3

To Graving 8 Coats & 4 Inscriptions 2-2-0

To a case with 2 Silver plates grav'd with Arms & Inscriptions 3-13-0

To 18 Dizirt Spoons 23-4-5/9 6-13-5

To Making 2/aa 1-16-0

To Graving 18 Coats & Inscriptions 1-16-0

To a rough box & repairing a Porrune Case 0-6-6

Feb 11. 1759 Recd the full Contents of this bill & £ 98-14-6

all Demand'd a pair of Pew Snuffers 0-14-6

Wickes & Netherton £ 99-8-6



It is only the survival of both the artifact and its associated archives that reveals the true nature of the purchase. The marks on the tureen suggest that it was bought directly from Paul de Lamerie, and engraved at a later date. Wickes and Netherton's bill proves, however, that it was bought through them, although the wording of the invoice, and their own

FIGURE 4
Paul de Lamerie, "Thanet" tureens, London, 1743. Length 40 cm. Scratch weights 126 oz 4 dwt. and 127 oz. 9 dwt. Ladles 33.6 cm long. Courtesy Spink and Son Limited, London.

account, give no hint of the origin or the time of its manufacture. Perhaps the tureen was bought at Langford's auction of de Lamerie's stock in 1751. The relationship between de Lamerie, one of the largest suppliers of plate, and Wickes and Netherton, one of the largest retailers in mid-eighteenth-century London, must have been a close and involved one, though the association of de Lamerie with the firm has never been documented. The appearance of the same casting pattern on silver marked by de Lamerie and Wickes suggests that either they both used the same specialist supplier, who remains anonymous, or that de Lamerie and Wickes supplied each other with goods for retail. It is known on the basis of the workmen's books that survive that Wickes subcontracted many of his orders out to specialists. Why should he not also buy plate from de Lamerie? It is known that Wickes's successors, John Parker and Edward Wakelin (fl. 1760-1776), operated a network of at least seventy-five subcontractors. Conversely, why should de Lamerie not buy stock and fulfill commissions with silver bought from Wickes?

Two goldsmithing concerns that might appear as rivals in trade turn out to be more interdependent than such a simplistic description implies. Questions that remain unanswered center around the actual use of casting patterns. The particular design of foliate handles and finial seems to appear only on tureens bearing the mark of either Wickes or de Lamerie. Given the extent of the subcontracting network in the eighteenth century, it is difficult to explain how these two goldsmiths seem to have monopolized the use of this popular design. The ascription of a piece of silver to a single maker seems to be highly suspect, the process in itself obscuring the real and complex nature of manufacture and retail. The so-called "maker's mark," now more correctly termed the "sponsor's mark," may indicate only who was responsible for sending the silver to the assay office. The commissioning, manufacture, and retail of silver turns out to be less simple than a reading of the marks alone suggests. Research needs to be carried out on seventeenth- and even sixteenth-century goldsmiths to push back in time the emergence of subcontracting. More evidence is required on how the networks operated, and how designs were transmitted between specialists responsible for different phases of manufacture and decoration.

Social Status and College Hierarchy: Fashion and Function

The purchase in 1758 of a tureen made eight years previously, with an already much-used design that had first appeared in the 1730s, reveals a good deal about the taste of Oxford college fellows. As Philippa Glanville has remarked, food was presented with greater refinement and more

elaborate equipment, but with less ceremony, in 1700 than in 1600 among British aristocracy.³⁴ The new elements—sets of cutlery, tiered centerpieces, sets of cruets and casters, tureens, and sauceboats—imitated French practice and spread only gradually beyond fashionable aristocratic circles. By 1720 the new dining customs were sufficiently well established for standard designs to be produced by London goldsmiths for their gentry customers. If one compares the inventories of Brasenose silver made in 1729, 1749, 1761, 1763, and 1773 with those made for aristocratic families, the force of tradition that surrounded communal institutional eating can be measured. It ensured a relative conservatism in the type and style of objects used. If the type and quantity of buttery plate in a 1749 Brasenose inventory is compared with that listed in an inventory made twelve years later, in 1761, the tardy influence of "fashionable dining" can now be seen on college life.³⁵ The 1761 "Account of the Plate belonging to Brazen Nose College" shows that the total weight of plate amounted to 4,464 ounces 8 penny weight.³⁶ Fewer tankards are listed, and six are described in the 1761 inventory as exchanged for new plate, which largely consisted of dishes and servers, salts, sauceboats, and casters. The purchase of a tureen and bread basket, noted in the 1761 inventory, witnessed a decided refinement in standards.

	Inventories	
	1749	1761
Tankards: 2 Quarts	9	8
3 Pint	5	5
1 Quart	22	19
1 Pint	15	13
Decanters (i.e. jugs)	11	11
Mugs: 1 Pint	10	10
Half-pint	8	8
Quarter	6	6
Large	2	2
Beakers	8	8
Tumblers	12	21
Cups	8	5
Dishes & Servers	15	19
Salts	12	21
Sauceboats	4	7
Casters	5	10
Pairs of Candlesticks	9	9
Punch bowls	1	1
Monteiths	1	1
Standishes for ink	1	1
Cheese toasters	1	1
Tureens	0	1
Bread baskets	0	1

The prevalence of drinking vessels, as opposed to dining equipment, reflects the force of tradition and of social delineation. There was a hierarchy in the types of plate used, which reflected the different levels of status within the College.³⁷ The lowest level of undergraduate was the servitor or sizar. In return for reduced fees, they performed menial tasks, such as waiting at table. Servitors would not have drunk from the table silver. A butler's notebook of the mid-eighteenth century makes clear the regulation that "Servitors use not those Plates [mugs] yt go to Tables they serve."³⁸ Battelers were also undergraduates, but ranked above the servitors, and below the commoners. They drank from half-pint mugs weighing ten to eleven ounces.³⁹ Commoners, sometimes known as gentlemen or fellow commoners, were, like the servitors and battelers, not "on the foundation." They were usually sons of nobles, knights, or esquires and rarely took degrees. They paid for their board and lodgings, and met high fees for their instruction, and from the seventeenth century spent for some of the amenities reserved for fellows, such as dining "at high table." They drank from pint mugs of about nineteen to twenty ounces.⁴⁰ Some plate was for the use of the principal only, and it was often engraved with the words "in usum principalis."

The silver discussed so far relates to that owned by the College. There is plenty of evidence in the form of inventories of silver belonging to individuals living and working within the colleges, however, that some fellows and commoners used their own private silver.⁴¹ Sometimes there was confusion about ownership. For example, during the Civil War the principal of Jesus College made a note of a "little peece of plate of another mans wch was in my study and by mistake taken out wth the Coll: plate and lent to his Matie wch weighed some what more than 8 ounces."⁴² The principal had to pay the king's agents £2 to retrieve the plate.

The major role played by drinking vessels in college life at the two ancient universities until at least the mid-eighteenth century can be largely explained by the custom of applying entrance fees demanded of nobles and gentlemen commoners to purchase plate. Seldom were the benefactors themselves consulted about how their gift would be spent. By the 1650s some colleges had fixed the actual amount to be expended. In 1653, for example, Corpus Christi College decreed that "every Commoner of this College shall give Either a Plate of ye value of ten pounds to ye College or ten pounds to ye use of the College & to lay downe ten pounds for security at his coming."⁴³ At a meeting held at Christ Church in 1705, it was noted that "it has bin the antient usage & right of this house for the treasurer . . . to have of every Comonor of the Doctrs Table and also of every Gentleman Comonor . . . to . . . have given a plate or som other

benefaction." A table of "respective summes" reveals that noblemen and their sons were required to give £15, baronets and knights £10, and gentlemen commoners £5.⁴⁴ In 1659/1660 the plate money accounted for £20 10s., a remarkable sum if it is compared with the yearly salary of £1 5s. of the head of the College. The standardization of the fee was a response to the devastation of the college treasuries during the Civil War. At Merton College it was decided that within two months of admission students should be required to give a silver cup of value not less than £8.⁴⁵ The smallest and most useful plate to fit this price range was the "college cup," variously called a "tun," an "eared pot," or an "ox-eye," hence their proliferation in college silver holdings. The exception to the rule of providing silver for drinking with commoners' money is to be found at St. John's College, Oxford, where spoons were bought. By 1608 St. John's had 219.⁴⁶

As there were different categories of use for the plate, so there were different servants assigned to its care. At Brasenose, responsibility for the silver was divided between the hall man, the under butler and the common room man. Furthermore, as the records reveal, there were distinct categories of plate (some still adhered to), which were the responsibility of separate individuals. Buttery silver accounted for the largest proportion, used by the students who dined regularly in the hall. Silver employed in this context was often engraved with the words "in usum commensalium." It is this silver that responds to changes in fashions, although at a much slower rate than that used for private dining. Any plate connected with the founder of a particular college would be kept in the treasury, in a treble-locked plate chest, along with other "historic" silver. Some colleges had towers built as treasuries: at Magdalen College the tower in which the "iron-bound chest" for plate was kept was called the Chequer.⁴⁷ Chapel plate might also be kept in the treasury when not in use. The principal was allocated his own silver, and it is a testament to the regard the College had for the de Lamerie tureen that it was kept in the principal's lodgings until well into the nineteenth century, when it was relegated to the buttery.

It was the introduction of the Common Room, first at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1650, that created the need for a whole new class of plate. Eleven years later, in 1661, Merton College was the first Oxford college to introduce a Common Room for its fellows, hiring a man for a shilling a week to keep it in order. Coffee and, later, tea equipages were bought for these new Common Rooms. The Brasenose butler's notebook mentioned earlier comments succinctly on the new type of social gathering it permitted for the college, where "Green-Tea Bohea & Coffee and chocolate are of late years thought fitter Break-fasts for Philosophers—

and a glass of white-wine may not be amiss." It was not until after the 1761 inventory had been made, however, that a pair of oval tea caddies, a neat inlaid tea chest, a polished, engraved, and beaded teapot, a pierced sugar basket, and a pair of tea tongs were purchased for the Common Room.

It was also in the 1650s that for the first time fellows were asked to present a piece of silver on vacating their fellowship. The mid-seventeenth century seems to have been a turning point in college life. The necessity of restoring college plate after the devastation of the Civil War meant that new types of plate were bought, rather than old plate replaced. The list of benefactors, begun in 1647, shows the gradual and piecemeal introduction of new types of silver, in 1664 a sauceboat (with another in 1669), in 1674 a "large Soop dish," and in 1697 the first of a series of sets of forks. At Jesus College the fellows celebrated in 1736 with "a Bottle of wine on receiving Mr Williams' Case of knives and forks."⁴⁸ It is not until as late as 1745 at Brasenose, however, that "a Stand of Casters and Cruits" was bought. This stand is probably what is now known as a "Warwick cruet," after the first example marked by Anthony Nelme in 1715. It was a common item on the most stylish dining tables of the aristocracy by the 1720s.

Ultimately it was the responsibility of the head of the college to purchase new silver, allocating the students' plate money, the fellows' money, and that bequeathed to the college. It was also his responsibility to choose the supplier. The Brasenose butler's notebook makes this very clear: "All the servants are put in by Mr Principal's sole Power and the Goldsmiths, the Plummer, the Iron-monger, the Glazier, ye Brazier, ye Chandler, the Smith and ye Butcher are put in by him also."⁴⁹ The principal responsible for ordering the de Lamerie tureen in 1758 was Francis Yarborough, who had been elected in 1745. He ensured that the College was brought up to date in its dining habits. He had matriculated from the University in 1712/1713 at age seventeen, rising from fellow in 1716 to junior bursar in 1729-1730, and senior bursar in 1730-1737.⁵⁰ It was on his initiative that the Old Plate Book was revived in 1749.

Brasenose College as Patron of the Panton Street Goldsmiths

Brasenose College seems to have been cautious in its purchase of the more fashionable types of silver, which is characteristic of college practice. It is understandable that the principal should go to one of the largest and most established goldsmiths in London for his orders, and should return to him repeatedly.⁵¹ The cup, for instance, that Wickes had supplied "in the name of Sir Henry Harpur, late of Cork in the County of Derby" in 1751,

must have pleased Lady Carol Harpur and the College, because the College returned to the firm in 1758.⁵² Harpur's cup, "chased with a cover" and weighing 113 ounces 2 penny weight, is recorded in the "Principal's Lodging."⁵³ The two-handled cup and cover, which is richly embossed with cast and applied vines leaves and grapes with a pine cone finial, bears the mark of George Wickes, assayed in 1751. Harpur's cup is very typical of the silver supplied by the firm. It is made to a high standard, but is conservative in design. Although Wickes like other goldsmiths announced on his trade card that he sold "Gold & Silver, after ye Best & Newest fashion," he rarely sold silver that was in the vanguard of taste.

The accounts of the firm, which survive from 1735, record that "Rev. Dr Yarborough," the principal of Brasenose, opened an account with them on December 12, 1758, with the purchase of a "pr Salts & Spoons" weighing 7 ounces 19 penny weight and costing £2 5s. 9d., plus 14s. for making and 5s. for "Graving 2 Coats."⁵⁴ The order continues with the de Lamerie tureen, and "4 hand waiters [or serving pieces], nurls & Shells," "18 Dezert Spoons," "a Case with Silver furniture," "Repairing the Terrine Case," and a "Rough box" (Fig. 3) in which the order would have been delivered. The reason for the mending of the tureen case now becomes clear, for if it was made in 1750 with the tureen, it is likely to have been damaged in storage. The total cost of the order came to £98 14s. 6d. The bill was settled on February 14, 1759, in cash, referred to at the time as "ready money." Herbert Mayo, then junior bursar, ordered "Messrs Biddulph & Cocks bankers at the Crown & Cushion in Saint Paul's Church Yard" to pay Wickes and Netherton.⁵⁵ The use of a London bank account to facilitate business was common among Oxford colleges. John Parker, who had been apprenticed to the partners in 1751, acknowledged receipt of the money on behalf of the business.⁵⁶ The annotated invoice at the College shows that the plate was purchased with "Cash by different Benefactors" amounting to £92; the remaining £6 18s. 9d. "to make up this Bill has been paid for by ye Bursar." Of this first order only the waiters were made to commission. The eighteen dessert spoons were made in 1746, and the tureen in 1750 and supplied from stock.

The Brasenose Book of Benefactions shows that the money for the dessert spoons came from William Inge, a gentleman commoner from Thorpe Constantine in Stafford, who contributed £12 in 1756.⁵⁷ It was quite usual for several years to elapse between the donation of money and its allocation for purchase. The donors were remembered, however, not only by an entry in the Benefaction Book, but by their name engraved on the plate itself. The name was carried on, even if the silver was remodeled. So, for example, an oval salver of 1783 supplied by the Batemans to New

College bears the name of William Porter and the date of his original donation in 1494. The four Brasenose waiters were purchased with money given by Robert Watson, "Doctor in Physick" of Wakefield in York, who "by Will" left "the Sum of Twenty Pounds" in 1758, which was "laid out in four Servers." It is notable that the goldsmiths called these objects "hand waiters," but the College referred to them as "servers." The latter term relates to the older word "preserver" employed in the Middle Ages for the implement used to present food to be tested for poison before eating. The waiters are seven inches in diameter and have shell and gadroon borders and are hallmarked for 1758.

The College also has a sauceboat of 1751 marked by Edward Wakelin, who in 1747 had taken over the management of Wickes and Netherton's network of subcontractors.⁵⁸ This sauceboat does not appear in Yarborough's account. Wakelin may well have supplied the sauceboat as a subcontractor for another goldsmith, although he was responsible for taking the piece to be assayed, as evidenced by his mark on the piece. It is impossible to tell whether some goldsmiths worked entirely for a single retailer, or whether they were independent, supplying specialist goods to a large number of other retailing goldsmiths.

The 1758 order was followed in May 1759 with "2 pr Candlesticks nozils & snuffer pan," costing, with engraving, "false nozils," and box, £38 19s. (Fig. 5).⁵⁹ The manufacture of the candlesticks involved the addition of a "Very Fine pair Steele snuffs wth pierced shanks & secret springs on feet," costing 14s., supplied by the ironmonger and hardwareman William Freke at the King's Arms in Stanhope Street, Clare Market, in London (Fig. 6).⁶⁰ On the back of the bill John Parker wrote:

N.B. Snuffers tipp'd wth silver are apt to separate in the joineing Part,
& are repair'd wth Difficulty, for wch reason all steel were recom-
mended—when out of Use they shou'd be kept in a dry Place, wn
foul'd wth Tallow—let them be warm'd & rubb'd wth a soft dry
Rag—if these snuffers are not lik'd they may be return'd at any time.

The order for the candlesticks and snuffers reveals how a retailer assembled all the parts of an order, often from a number of specialist suppliers, before despatch to the customer. In August 1760 the College purchased "a Nurl'd Bread Basket" weighing 47 ounces 5 penny weight and priced at £21 13s. for the silver and fashioning. The purchase was financed using the caution money, or deposits, of two gentlemen commoners, Peter Brooke and George Cooke, £12 from each.⁶¹ This is the first explicit mention of the practice, which long prevailed, of giving caution money for the purchase of plate.⁶² Caution money was deposited



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<i>Bought of George Wickes & Samuel Netherton, Goldsmiths & Jewellers. — 02. 00. 0. 0. 0.</i>	
<i>in Panton Street, near St. James's Hay-Market.</i>	
1759 Mar 12	To 2 ^{do} Candlesticks nozils & Snufferpan 98.5 4/3 35.12.0
	To Graving a Coat & Inscription on y ^c Snufferpan 0.3.6
	To 2 ^{do} Tals nozils 8.2 5/3 2.6.6
	To Making, fusing & new polishing the candlesticks 0.16.0
	To a Hough box 0.1.0
	<u>£ 38.10.-</u>
1759 Mar 3	By old Plate 124 a 6/9 35.13.-
	<u>£ 3.6.-</u>
Nov ^r 9. 1759	98.5 4/3 9.7 <u>88.18</u>
Paid to the Bursar of Brasenose College three pounds 6/- Shillings in full of this Bill & all Demand	
George Wickes & S ^t l Netherton	

with the College by an undergraduate on his arrival, to stand as credit against charges incurred, and before 1760 it was repaid when the battels, or food account, was cleared.⁶³

The Oxford goldsmiths George Tonge engraved the College arms and two inscriptions on the bread basket for 10s. 6d. Tonge received his payment on November 24, 1762. As shown on the invoice, the basket was supplied by the firm of Parker and Wakelin (fl. 1760-1776), successors to Wickes and Netherton, but it bears the mark of Edward Aldridge and Company, who worked as subcontractors, specializing in bread and cake baskets. The bread basket was assayed in 1760. The weight "47=5" is engraved on the base. Workmen's ledgers relating to Parker and Wakelin's partnership include extensive orders supplied to them by Edward Aldridge.⁶⁴

FIGURE 5

Bill from George Wickes and Samuel Netherton to Brasenose College, 1759. Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

The order continued with a "pr Pillar Candlesticks & nozils" weighing 29 ounces 9 penny weight and costing £8 6s. 8d. for the silver, and £7 15s. for "making & fitting Mahogany to the pillars & bottoms." "Graving 6 Coats & Inscriptions" cost an additional £2.⁶⁵ Here it is possible to compare the cost of London and Oxford engraving. On May 11, 1762, Tonge billed Brasenose College £1 for "Engraving ye Coll: Arms and three Inscriptions on two pr Candlesticks,"⁶⁶ revealing that he charged slightly more than a quarter of the London cost. The pillar baluster candlesticks supplied by Parker and Wakelin also bear engraved weights of "14=19" and "14=10," but no assay or sponsors' marks. They were bought with money realized from two "2 ear'd Cups" originally donated by Robert Cholmondeley and Robert Jenkinson in 1670 and 1673.⁶⁷ The cumulative weight of the "2 ear'd cups" at 66 ounces 2 penny weight was exchanged at a rate of 5s. 8d. per ounce, totaling £18 14s. 6d. The donors' names are given in the engraving on the square bases of the candlesticks. The practice of exchanging old silver for new was common. More silver was melted down in the cause of fashion and replacement than was ever "lent" to the king for melting during the Civil War. The custom of course made no provision for the craftsmanship, only the current rate per ounce for sterling silver. There is no sense of the value of "antique" plate.

Brasenose College continued to patronize the firm founded by Wickes into the nineteenth century. With the legacy bequeathed by a Dr. Parson,

FIGURE 6

Bill from William Freke, ironmonger and hardwareman, for steel candle-snuffers supplied 1759 via George Wickes and Samuel Netherton to Brasenose College. Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.



B 670

Rev. E. J. Turned



BOUGHT OF R. & S. GARRARD & CO.
 GOLDSMITHS, SILVERSMITHS & JEWELLERS IN ORDINARY TO
 Her Majesty the Queen,
BY APPOINTMENT TO THE CROWN.
 TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES
 AND ALL THE ROYAL FAMILY.
 PANTON STREET & 25, HAYMARKET, S.W.

1865-

Aug 81	24 extra strong plain Silver Table forks	27
	Engraving ad deep on d.	262.12 1,4
	18 Silver shell point Teaspoons	15.4 710.
	Engraving Arms + addrs.	212
Sept 3d	12 Silver gadroon Soup spoons to cover	15- 50
	Engraving Arms of College on one side	
	12 Ormeod nother	25.
		£ 90 11.
	Discount for a £40.11.- 40% 2 1 6	
		88.9.6

Rec'd 6 Oct 65
R. & S. Garrard & Co.
London
Brasenose College

the Rev. Dr. Jenkyns ordered on behalf of the College two pairs of "chased silver Table Candlesticks," "3 pair fluted oblong salts with gadroon & shell borders, gilt insides" with ladles, one dozen table spoons and two dozen forks to match, one dozen dessert spoons, one soup ladle, four sauce ladles, and two second-hand gravy spoons in 1819. The whole bill, plus the

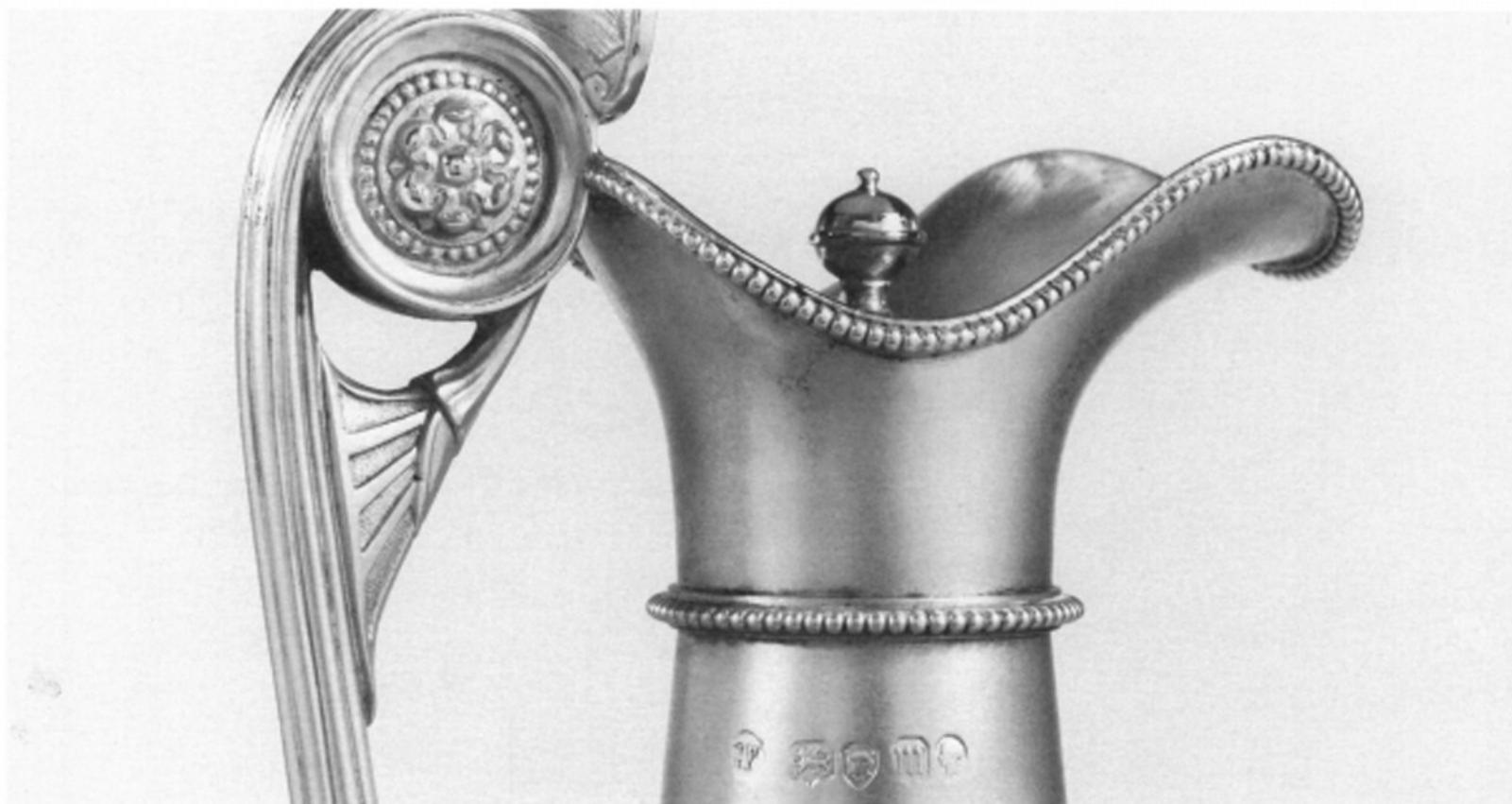
FIGURE 7
 Bill from R. & S. Garrard to Brasenose College, 1865. Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

engraving of "Bishop's Mitres and Inscriptions," came to £180 18s. 7d., with a five percent discount of £9 "for Prompt Payment." In 1865 the College went back to the firm, now R. & S. Garrard, to buy "24 extra strong plain silver table forks," "18 silver shell Teaspoons," and a "silver gadroon Soup Terrine" engraved with the arms of John Ormerod (Fig. 7).⁶⁸ In 1867 R. & S. Garrard received an order from the College for "2 silver Etruscan pattern Claret jugs" costing £50, engraved with the arms of Thornby with an inscription. The total bill of £54 8s. was discounted £2 14s. for cash payment made within six weeks of invoicing.⁶⁹ The jugs are hallmarked for 1867 and bear the mark "GF" for George Fox,⁷⁰ who supplied Garrard with silver (Figs. 8 and 9), continuing the practice of subcontracting which had begun at least as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century.



FIGURE 8

George Fox (c. 1816-1910), one of a pair of silver "Etruscan"-pattern claret jugs made for R. & S. Garrard, 1868. Height 32 cm. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.



The Care of the College Plate

London goldsmiths may have manufactured most of the silver bought by Oxford colleges, but most of its day-to-day maintenance was handled by local Oxford goldsmiths. Although the earliest surviving senior bursar's Rolls of Account is dated 1516, there is no record of any local goldsmiths being paid by the College until 1647, when William Wright was given 6s. "for work about the Challices."⁷¹ From then on there is a very clear pattern of patronage. The College dealt in general with only one Oxford goldsmith at a time, as was common among the colleges. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Brasenose College gave its business to William Wright, then to Walter Wilkins in the second half. Between 1725 and 1753 Brasenose used John Wilkins (Fig. 10), and from 1759 George Tonge, who had been apprenticed to John Wilkins. In 1766 the College turned to Edward Lock, then to his son Joseph. From 1820 it patronized Edward Hickman. Other local goldsmiths appear, but only occasionally. Timothy Dubber appears only once in the accounts, in 1723. John de Gruchy, who advertised in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* that he had lately come from London and "opened shop near the Printing House," carried out only a couple of mending orders in 1763/1764 and 1765/1766, including "mandin" a decanter and engraving "4 pisis" (Fig. 11).⁷² There were other goldsmiths active in Oxford, including Thomas Berry and Daniel Porter, so it was not for want of choice that Brasenose selected these few. The

FIGURE 9

Detail of marks on one of the "Etruscan"-pattern claret jugs. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

Brasenose College	
Graving 4 Silver plates two coats, & an Inscript on each omitted in y ^e {	0:15:0
last Bill	
Jan: 11 th 1730	mr marshalls plate mended & burn: - 0: 2: 6
	mr Croft ^r plate ditto - - - - 0: 2: 0
20	mr Mellish ^r ditto - - - - 0: 2: 0
apr: 7 th	mr Moles ^r ditto - - - - 0: 5: 6
may 4	mr Caldecots ditto - - - - 0: 4: 6
29	a Knife and Spoon - - - - 0: 1: 6
June 9 th	a polist ^r punch Bowl 52:8 at 7:6 ^r on is - - - - } 19:13:0
	Graving - - - - 0:12:6
17	mending Mr Holes plate - - - - 0: 3: 6
July 17 th	Ditto Mr Woodhulls plate - - - - 0: 3: 6
	Ditto Dr Clarkes plate - - - - 0: 2: 6
21	one polist ^r punch Ladle 2:8:12 0:14:7
	making - - - - 0: 7: 6
	an Ebony Handle - - - - 0: 2: 0
	Engraving y ^e College Arms - - - - 0: 3: 0
30	Boiling & burnishing Mr Parkers plate 0: 2: 6
aug: 28	Ditto Mr Nowells plate - - - - 0: 2: 0
	3 hafis mended and Silver added 0: 4: 0
Sep: 27 th	mending Mr Thellwells plate 0: 3: 6
Nov: 4 th	ditto Mr Siessmith ^r plate - - - - 0: 3: 0
17	ditto Mr Nicolls two Cups - - - - 0: 2: 6
	24:15:7
	Rec ^d Sir Ralph Ashlons plate wt on dw at 5:2 ^r on is - - - - } 19:5:0
	Rest due 05:10:7
	Remains due for Mr Lindleys plate - - - - 0: 17: 3 ^r
	in all 06:7:10 ^r
Dec: 11 th 1731	Rec ^d of y ^e Rec ^d : Mr Hall & Contents of y ^e Bill
	John Wilkins

FIGURE 10
Bill from John Wilkins, Oxford goldsmith, to
Brasenose College, 1730-1731. Brasenose
College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley,
courtesy Garrard and Company Limited,
London.

Work Done for Brasenose Coll. 1763		John de Gruchy
April 2	1 Spoon mandir	0.0.6.
October 20	1 Decanter mandir	0.2.6
25	1 Tankard 3°	0.3.6.
	Copin the Joint of 1 Tankard and in Groove, and may, bruise 3	0.2.0
	1 Bolt bruise	<u>0.0.6</u> 0.9.0
Recd the Content in four of old Demandt John de Gruchy		

FIGURE 11

Bill from John de Gruchy to Brasenose College for repair of silver, 1763-1764. Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

local goldsmiths had to be versatile, since they mended, cleaned, polished, and engraved the College plate. John Wilkins, for example, engraved an "Inscription on ye Key of ye Hall Door" in 1754, and "planished, boiled, and burnished" two beakers, and took "ye Lids & Joints from eleven small Tankards at 6d each," provided two skins of leather for cleaning the plate as well as "two days work done by a man at ye College." In 1754 Wilkins supplied a "red leather case to ye Grace Cup" for 14s. and engraved "ye weight on eighteen Pieces of Plate" for 4s. 6d.⁷³ George Tonge was paid 1s. in 1759 "For taking the bruises out of Mr Tuite's two Handle Cup & Cover & Cleaning ye Same for the Lodgings."⁷⁴

Although Oxford goldsmiths were responsible for the maintenance of the College silver, it was the London goldsmiths who supplied the greater part of it. It is often unclear, however, whether London goldsmiths dealt direct with the colleges or through middlemen, who were often Oxford goldsmiths, or other traders. The sixteenth-century bursar's accounts usually only refer to "goldsmiths work" and a sum of money, with neither the name of the goldsmith nor the details of the order. John de Gruchy, for example, had been apprenticed to the London goldsmith John Swift in 1758.⁷⁵ The large amount of plate in Oxford bearing Swift's mark may be explained by Gruchy's influence, passing on work to the man who had been his master. The process of purchasing plate was rarely a simple transaction of ready money for wrought objects between two individuals. Silver, as described above, was paid for by the College, through donations and through the exchange of old plate for new. In 1592, for example, "broken plate which had been used before in the buttry for ye daylie

service of the hall" was weighed by the senior bursar Thomas Singleton and sent to London to be converted into new plate.⁷⁶ The first citation of a particular London goldsmith appears in March 1605, when Alexander Cokke received full payment for "10 wyght bolles and a round whit salt w[ithout] a cover at 5s 6d per oz weight 12oz made for Brasenose College. £8 11s." The College negotiated the purchase and organized its transport from London to Oxford via a London leather merchant, William Singleton.⁷⁷ It is likely that William was related to the then senior bursar, Thomas Singleton.⁷⁸ In the senior bursar's Account Book for 1653/1654, an order for "2 great Candelsticks (of ye new fashion) with sockets markd B.C." appears. They cost 8s., with "2 Lessar" at 6s. 6d., and a "box and cariage [sic] 3s. 4d." They were "Bought in London for ye Tower."⁷⁹ Richard Green, "Goldsmith opposite Durham Yard in the Strand, London," supplied a tankard in 1738 "of the newest fashion" for a Mr. Howard of Brasenose College, for £10 10s. at 7s. 4d. per ounce.⁸⁰ A letter included with the bill survives, explaining that Green:

recd a Lettr from Mr Stonehouse of ye 14th with Orders to send your College a Tankard about Eight or Nine pounds value for Mr Howard, which I have sent this Evening to the Coach, the Tankard I have sent is of the newest fashion & comes to more than my Orders please let the Gentn see it & if he approves of it I shall take an opportunity to draw on you for the mony which is due.

The letter does much to clarify how orders were communicated and dispatched between London and Oxford. Apart from George Wickes and his successors, the only other London goldsmiths named in the accounts are Henry Hurt, a gilder, and Thomas Whipham. In 1762 Thomas Whipham sold the College "3 Polld Tumblers & Engravd Arms" for £11 7s. 6d.⁸¹ By the time of Whipham's next commission, twenty years later, the business had passed to his son.⁸²

The accounts between the College and the Oxford goldsmith Edward Lock reveal how he acted as an intermediary between the College and London goldsmiths. In 1801 Edward Lock and Son supplied "A rich Chas'd Tea Urn" weighing 121 ounces 15 penny weight. They had bought it from a leading London firm of goldsmiths, the Batemans (Fig. 12). Peter, Ann, and William Bateman had begun their partnership in 1800.⁸³ Lock's bill includes silver at 6s. 4d., duty at 1s., and making at 3s. 6d. an ounce, amounting to a total of £68 0s. 8d. But as in the earlier accounts of George Wickes, there is no written evidence to reveal the identity of the manufacturer, or the profit made by the supplier, in this case Lock. The handsome urn that survives in the College bears the date letter for 1801 and the marks of Peter, Ann, and William Bateman.

1801	The right Reverend the Principal and the Fellows of Brasenose College To Lock & Son DR	Dr Conta
Nov 12	Three glass lining to new tank. Hand - 3:-	
Dec 20	Irish Chas'd Tea Currant 12 ^{oz} 15 ^{oz} 12 ^{oz} Tilt hhd Duty 1/- making 3lb gross - 1.68:- 8	
	Engraving Ld Temple Arundell 1.11:-	
	Do for an oak case lined - 1.40:-	
21	New glass lining to muffinier - 1:-6	
Jan 13	Repairing an old tea lining - 2:-	
1802	Two glass linings to mustard tank - 4:- Mending a pair of old "snuffers" - 6	
	Do. a candlestick - 2:-	
Mar 29	One blue lining to mustard tank - 2:-	
Apr 6	Mending a sauce boat on Wiffham - 4:- May 10 Do a gravy spoon - 1:-	
26	Do the same, two plates - 1:-6	
July 26	New lining salt Laddle, by grav. 1oz - 4:-	
	A pair of new strong gravy spoons & Engraving Int. with H - 3.10:-	
	Mending Salt Laddle - 2:-	
	Do. a pair of sauce boats not biggest - 5.6	
	Gilding 4 heads of two muffinier - 10:-6	
Oct 30	Mending a large tank & mending and new added, much broken - 6:-	
	<u>£ 76:16:8</u>	
		Cash of the Principal - 50:- A light salt shooel - 1:- Two old gravy spoons w. 5 ^{oz} 6 ^{oz} 1.7:-6 Balance - 25:8:2
		<u>£ 76:16:8</u>
		Recd 15 Dec 1802 J. The Revd. The Bursar of Brasenose College Twenty-five Pounds eight Shillings, the balance of account Recd Lock
		<u>£ 35:8:2</u>

Conclusion

The quantity and quality of silver and its related documentation surviving in the Oxford colleges provides abundant material for analysis. The colleges, although administered and attended by some of the country's wealthiest aristocracy, whose families would have been familiar with the latest fashions, confined their consumption in the field of luxury commodities to a most modest level. The force of tradition and communal living put a brake on the pursuit of the avant-garde and favored more solid investment. The correlation between surviving silver and its written record has provided a window, previously obscured through lack of evidence, into the world of manufacturing networks, seen from the consumer's point of view, and the purchase of "second-hand" goods. The distance between the maker and consumer turns out in some cases to be greater than previously thought. That something as grand as a tureen, important to the retailer in cost and to the consumer in prestige, was

FIGURE 12

Bill from Lock and Son, Oxford goldsmiths, to Brasenose College, 1801-1802. Brasenose College Archives. Photo: M. Dudley, courtesy Garrard and Company Limited, London.

purchased second-hand raises the question of what proportion of the goldsmiths' trade involved this type of exchange. At what point was a piece of silver sold second-hand, thus recouping the cost of the craftsmanship, or melted down merely for its intrinsic value?⁸⁴ This is only one of the paths for future research opened up by the rich matching visual and archival information in the Oxford colleges. The material offers an unrivaled opportunity for exploring the practical realities and complexities of the goldsmiths' trade.

NOTES

I should like to thank the archivist of Brasenose College, Elizabeth Boardman, for her advice and her generosity in sharing her knowledge of the College archives with me. I also thank Dr. Bernard A. Richards for allowing me to see the College silver, and the Senior Common Room butler Alan Bennett for his assistance in this examination. Ann Hansen, who is studying Oxford goldsmiths, provided help and guidance concerning the College's use of local goldsmiths. The Crown jewelers Garrard and Company generously agreed to sponsor the photography, carried out by Michael Dudley of the Ashmolean Museum. The research for this paper is part of a two-year project examining the history of Oxford College silver made possible by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

1. Brasenose College (hereafter BNC) Archives, Clennell, B.1.d.1, *The Old Plate Book*, p. 2: "Plate wanting the 26 Novemb . . . melted in ye fire in ye sellar, 1618."

2. *Ibid.*, 20: most of the plate stolen was from Mrs. Joyce Frankland's bequest of 1587, including a "nest of gilt gobletts," "two round salts," "three greate standinge bowles with feete," "one basen with a rose in the bottom," and twelve spoons.

3. BNC Archives; the senior bursar's accounts cover 1516-1775, 1778, and 1785-1787, in twenty-six volumes.

4. BNC Archives, Clennell, A.2.41.

5. BNC Archives, Clennell, B.53.14, "Instructions for the Butler," mid-eighteenth century: "Some time after the Return of Charles the Second whch was in 1660 May 29th, this Gaudy [St. Chad's] was put off till then to make ye 29th of May ye greater Gaudy."

6. For a full explanation of the different headings, see BNC Archives, Clennell, B.53.10, "Remarks

on Each Article of the Junior Bursar's Account," 1757.

7. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 23.102 (1614).

8. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 60 (1749).

9. Published in *Brasenose College Quartercentenary Monographs* (Oxford, 1909).

10. The Old Plate Book is reproduced in *Brasenose College Quartercentenary Monographs*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1909), section V: A. J. Butler, "The College Plate," 11-28.

11. The chalice, patens, and communion plate were regilt by the local goldsmith John Wilkins in 1676. See BNC Archives, Clennell, A.2.47, Bursar's Book, 1663-1723. The total cost came to £3.

12. See John Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa* (Oxford, 1781), vol. 1, section XXIV, 227: "An Abstract of the Plate presented to the King's Majesty, by the Several Colleges of Oxford, and the Gentry of the County, 20th January 1642."

13. The Tower pound was replaced in 1527 by the Troy pound, where 1 lb equals 12 ounces or 240 penny weight. The Troy pound was abolished in 1878, except for weighing precious metals and stones, and its place was taken by the older avoirdupois pound for ordinary commercial use.

14. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 35 (1642).

15. BNC Archives, Senior Bursar's Account Book, Clennell, A.2.50, fol. 60, 1677: "the writing master, for writing of 23 pages in ye catalogue of Benefactors to ye Chapell & Library, & to ye House . . . & given his boy for many messages £3 14s. 0d."

16. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 39, extract from the Book of Benefactions. An extract from Radcliffe's will proved April 24, 1648, reads: "I give all my plate which the most part consisteth of small parcels excepting a gilt bowle with a cover given me by my Lrd chancellor Egerton when being Proctor of the Universitie and was at his creation Mr [Master] of Arts and his installinge Chancellor thereof which bowle I give for a grace to be used at our accounts in the Colledge." Reproduced in Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 30.

17. Harold Charles Moffatt, *Old Oxford Plate* (Oxford, 1909), 120, pl. LVII, marked "T.C." with two pellets above and one below in a shaped shield.

18. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 61 (1746).

19. *Ibid.*, 90 (1774).

20. Helen Clifford, "Paul de Lamerie and the Organization of the London Goldsmiths' Trade in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," in Susan Hare, ed., *Paul de Lamerie at the Sign of The Golden Ball* (London, 1990); see also Sotheby's, London, November 11, 1982, lot 24, "fine George II soup tureen and cover, Paul de Lamerie, London, 1741, 139 oz," and Sotheby's, London, July 16, 1970, lot 92, "from the W. R. Hearst Collection, Paul de Lamerie, 1741, 150 oz."

21. Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1984, lot 60, 1 & ii, a pair of soup tureens and covers with ladles.

22. In the Campbell Museum Collection at Camden, N.J.; another of the same date is in the Huntington Collection, San Marino, Calif.

23. The Campbell Museum Collection (2nd ed., Camden, N.J., 1972), cat. no. 3., and Kathryn C. Buhler, "The Campbell Museum Collection of Silver," *Connoisseur* 173 (January 1970): 54.

24. Sotheby's, New York, June 4, 1974, lot 86. It is likely that the tureens were remodeled on the occasion of Richard Edgecumbe's elevation to a baronetcy in 1742. The tureens had new liners fitted in 1795 by Wakelin and Garrard.

25. Elaine Barr, "Lord North's Tureen," in Sotheby's Preview, September/October 1990, 32-33.

26. Elaine Barr, *George Wickes, 1698-1761, Royal Goldsmith* (London, 1980), 151. After Dr. Lee's death in 1755, the tureen (with its under-dish and ladle) was presented to Christ Church, Oxford, by his widow.

27. The firm was still supplying the same design of tureen and ladle in 1778/1779, when John Wakelin and William Taylor supplied one to William Pitt (1759-1806), who became prime minister of England in 1783. The tureen was presented in 1784 to Pembroke College, Cambridge, where Pitt had studied from 1773. See Robin A. Crighton, *Cambridge Plate* (Cambridge, 1975), 48, cat. no. BO9.

28. Barr, *George Wickes*, 24-25.

29. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 38, extract from the Book of Benefactions, 1758: "Richard Gorges Master of Arts Son of Hamilton Gorges of Katherine's Grove in Dublin, Ireland, and Gentleman Commoner of Brasen-Nose College."

30. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 38, extract from the Book of Benefactions, 1758: "William Lloyd, Master of Arts of Aston in the County of Salop."

31. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 38, extract from the Book of Benefactions, 1758: "John Sneyde of Bisham in the County of Stafford Esquire."

32. For an illustration, see *Apollo* (June 1964), advertisement for Wartski.

33. BNC Archives, Clennell, B.1.d.4.

34. Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England* (London, 1987), 65.

35. BNC Archives, Inventory Book, Clennell, B.1.d.1, "An Account of Plate Belonging to Brasen Nose College," 1749, and another in the same volume, 1761.

36. BNC Archives, Account of Plate Belonging to Brasen Nose College, 1749-1783, Clennell, B.1.d.1.

37. BNC Archives, Brasen Nose College Plate Book, Clennell, B.1.d.3.

38. BNC Archives, Clennell, B.53.14, 15.

39. The term was abolished in 1827.

40. Christopher Hibbert, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Oxford* (London, 1988), 100: the great increase in the number of commoners began in the reign of Elizabeth I, when all students were brought into colleges or academic halls.

41. University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Inventories, HYP B. Inventories of individuals at the University who died without wills.

42. Jesus College Archives, Bursar's Account for 1631-1653, 1643, p. 134.

43. Corpus Christi College Archives, B/4/3/2, College Register: see memorandum October 21, 1653.

44. Christ Church Archives, Cautions, xiii.b.6, December 20, 1705; it was noted that this custom "has bin of late much neglected."

45. Bernard W. Henderson, *Merton College* (London, 1899), 142-43. The only other alternative to plate money was the payment of £6 in cash to the Library.

46. St. John's College Archives, XC.9.28, Plate Account about 1623, "The name of ye Commoners whch have given spoones since 1608 are entred into ye Colledge Bookes are 171, whch being added to ye 48 formerly given make upp in ye whole 219."

47. C. M. Woolgar, *A Catalogue of the Estate Archives* (Oxford, 1981).

48. Jesus College Archives, Bursar's Account for 1726-1748, 1736.

49. BNC Archives, Clennell, B.53.14, p. 16.

50. Brasenose College Register 1509-1909, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1909), 293.

51. Accounts of the firm since its foundation in 1735 survive in the form of clients' and workmen's ledgers, now in the Archive of Art and Design, Victoria and Albert Museum.

52. *Ibid.*, 30, extract from the Book of Benefactions.

53. BNC Archives, Clennell, B.1.d.2. The fact that the cup was in the possession of the principal of the College, and kept in his rooms, suggests that it was regarded as a high-status piece.

54. Archive of Art and Design, Victoria and Albert Museum, Garrard Ledgers, Gentlemen's Ledger (VAM6), 1756-1760, p. 170.

55. Brasenose College Register 1509-1909, vol. 1: 332. Herbert Mayo, junior bursar, 1753-1754, 1755-1756, 1759-1760; vice-principal, 1757-1758, 1763-1764; senior bursar, 1761-1762.

56. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 71 (1759).

57. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 39, extract from the Book of Benefactions.

58. Moffatt, *Old Oxford Plate*, cat. no. 280.

59. Victoria and Albert Museum, Garrard Ledgers, Gentlemen's Ledger (VAM6), May 12, 1759, account paid with old plate and balanced on November 9, 1759, with cash.

60. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 71 (1759).

61. BNC, Book of Benefactions, 39: "1754 Peter Brooke late Gen. Comm. of Astley in the County of Lanc. Esqr, gave his Caution money of twelve pounds"; "1760 George Cooke late Gen. Com. of Doncaster in the County of York Esq. gave his Caution of twelve pounds"; "Both which Sums purchas'd a Silver Bread basket wt 47oz 5dwt."

62. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 39, extract from the Book of Benefactions.

63. Caution money is recorded as early as 1582 at St. John's College, at 40s. for each commoner.

64. Victoria and Albert Museum, Garrard Ledgers, Workmen's Ledger (VAM8), 1760-1776.

65. The purchases appear in the Gentlemen's Ledgers (VAM6), August 5, 1760, p. 170.

66. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 75 (1762).

67. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 33, extract from the Book of Benefactions.

68. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 670 (1865). Brasenose College Register, vol. 1: 495. John Aderne Ormerod matriculated on February 8, 1832, at eighteen; B.A., 1835; M.A., 1838; fellow on November 22, 1838; senior bursar, 1848-1863; died December 12, 1864. He bequeathed £50 to purchase a piece of plate, and 150 books to the library.

69. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, B Series 673.

70. John Culme, *The Directory of Gold & Silver-smiths*, vol. 1 (London, 1987), 98. George Fox (c. 1816-1910) entered a joint mark with his brother, Charles Thomas Fox, in 1841. In 1860 Charles Thoenas Fox retired, leaving George as sole partner in the firm until his death in 1910, when it passed to his son, who continued in business until it closed in 1921. As manufacturing silversmiths, the firm supplied many retailing goldsmiths, including Lambert and Rawlings; Edward Whistler; Howell, James, and Company; Widdowson and Veale; White and Campbell; Jenner and Knewstub; Alfred Clarke; William Boore; and Hancocks, Collingwood, and Company, as well as Garrard.

71. BNC Archives, Senior Bursar's Account Book, Clennell, A.2.43, p. 11. Moffatt, *Old Oxford Plate*, 114-15. Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 3. The pair of chalices, dated 1498, are the only known pair of English pre-Reformation chalices complete with patens.

72. Centre for Oxfordshire Studies, microfilm of Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Saturday, June 18, 1763.

73. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 65 (1754).

74. Ibid., 71 (1759).

75. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths*, 487. "John de Gruchy, son of the Rev. Philip de Gruchy late of the Island of Jersey deceased, apprenticed to John Swift 4 October 1758 on payment of £50."

76. The Old Plate Book, reproduced in Brasenose Monographs, vol. 1: 21; the old plate, the feet of three broken bowls, a cover for a tun and a cover for a salt weighing 84 ounces, were converted into four wine bowls, two tuns and a salt, amounting to 90 ounces.

77. BNC Archives, Hurst, College Plate, 1.

78. Brasenose College Register, vol. 1: 47; Thomas Singleton came to Oxford in 1573 at age twenty-one, and was incorporated as an undergraduate from Cambridge in 1574. He was appointed senior bursar and served in 1583-1585, 1586-1587, 1588-1590, 1591-1592, and 1603-1605. He was vice-principal in 1590-1591 and 1592-1593; principal in 1595, and vice-chancellor in 1598 and 1611.

79. BNC Archives, Bursar's Account Book, Clennell, A.2.46, p. 8.

80. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 49 (1738). Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths*, 528. Richard Green is listed by Ambrose Heal as goldsmith and jeweler, Strand opposite Royal Exchange, c. 1750. He was the son of Richard Green, plateworker at Foster Lane until 1734.

81. BNC Archives, Hurst, Tradesmen's Bills, 73 (1762).

82. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths*, 698. Thomas Whipham was born in 1741, the son of Thomas Whipham, who died in 1785. Heal records Whipham and North, goldsmiths and jewelers, at 61 Fleet Street, 1790-1802.

83. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths*, 433-34. Peter Bateman was the second son of Hester Bateman. Ann was the wife of Hester's third son, Jonathan; and William was their second son.

84. Little is known about the operation of the second-hand trade, and what is known derives from the wording of advertisements, either on trade cards or in newspapers.

